

The theory which assumes that cerebral convolutions have their origin in a disproportion of the brain surface to the skull with a resulting reciprocal mechanical influence on various parts of the brain is too generalized for our purpose. The use of the term "mechano-functional" condition may be comprehensive but does not explain the developmental process. I have applied the Weber method, which Scammon used so successfully in the study of the early pancreas, to this problem. While I am not yet in a position to make a positive statement the evidence at hand seems to suggest that a definite growth process in the region of the fissures is a factor in their formation.

It would seem that cerebral anthropology is dependent for its ultimate development on functional localization in the cerebral cortex. Such localization involves so many different factors that we can not hope for a solution of the problem by any one method of research or by any one department, but only by a thorough weighing and assorting of all the evidence contributed by the investigators in all departments. Since anthropology will benefit so largely by the answer to this question her workers should contribute their share toward its solution.

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HAWAIIAN SHARK AUMAKUA

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DURING a stay of some months in the district of Puna, Hawaii, two years ago, I came across instances of a belief in animal helpers, half god, half human, who utter their counsels through the lips of some medium, who becomes for the moment possessed with their spirit. Such gods are called *aumakua*. They are bound by obedience to their devotee, who becomes their keeper, and their worship, and consequent service, extends to his family and is handed down from generation to generation. Hawaiians are very unready to discuss this belief with foreigners, or even with those of their own race who mingle with foreigners. My interpreter, a part Hawaiian woman educated in foreign schools, told me that her grandmother, although believing devoutly in the phenomena of spirit possession, would never talk with her upon the subject.

On the coast, sharks are the particular object selected for veneration. In the village where I was staying, I quickly discovered that one family of two brothers named *Puhi* (eel) were much feared among their neighbors for their power to transmit disease to any who fell under their displeasure. Consumption was common in the village, and its victims were supposed to have fallen under the malign spell of the *Puhi*, or of the one other sorcerer they feared, the native pastor of the evangelical church. On one occasion the younger *Puhi* made a birthday feast for his son, but upon report that he had been at pains to secure a black animal without a white hair for the underground roasting, in spite of the popularity of such entertainments, not a man, woman or child outside the family, dared appear at the feast for fear of *Puhi's* sorcery. The man had a wife subject to fits of insanity—a dark heavy-faced woman with some traces of beauty, and sister to two albinos, men of big frame, white skin, light reddish hair, and blue eyes. As

they quarreled with their brother-in-law, we never saw them at the coast. "They talk bad of my father," the son explained, who, handsome, bright-eyed and finely formed, nevertheless inherited his mother's mental flightiness.

Under these circumstances it was no great surprise to learn that the *Puhi* had a supernatural helper or *aumakua* who appeared in the form of a particular shark inhabiting the waters off Cape Kumukahi. My informant was the native clergyman in the adjoining village of *Kaweleau*, named *Kaiwi*. Said he: "When the *Puhi* go fishing, the shark appears. The *aumakua* obeys the voice of man; name the kind of fish you want and it will bring it. The men give it some of the first catch, then it disappears, and they always come back with full nets. Only when the shark appears do they have luck (hence they recognize the god's intervention). Sometimes the *aumakua* tells them beforehand in a dream that it has gathered the fish together. Besides this, the *Puhi* family can never be drowned. If there is a storm and the boat capsizes, the shark appears and the man rides in on its back."

In answer to questions we drew from *Kaiwi* that this *aumakua* was a particular shark, light with yellow spots, called *Ke-au*. It originated when certain ancestors of *Puhi* had an abortive child.¹ They buried it in the ground, but the *aumakua* came in a dream and told them this was not right, so they threw it into the sea and it became this shark. "How can one tell that a shark is an *aumakua*?" we asked. *Kaiwi* said: "You can tell because when the mother goes in to bathe, the shark will come and jump at the breast as if to suckle; thus she knows it is her child, for it does this to no one else." As *Kaiwi* talked we heard his wife muttering in the back part of the house and presently she called him peremptorily from such dangerous gossip.

We asked the native clergyman of *Puhi*'s own village, a man of higher intelligence than *Kaiwi*, to explain to us more fully the idea of the *aumakua*. "How does the god come to have the shape of a shark?" we asked. "The *aumakua* has no form," he said, "It

¹ I am told that "Hawaiians suppose an abortive child to be the offspring of an *aumakua* and a human. If an *aumakua* finds the remains of such a child he adopts it, causing it to be like himself, another *aumakua*."

comes in the shape of a wish into the mother. When she is in trouble she prays and the object comes before her. After the one dearly loved passes away, he is worshiped, the dead one's spirit is fed with *awa* (the intoxicating drink of the Hawaiian). Or if a child comes before its time, unformed, lifeless, such a child is thrown away. The spirit comes back. The mother is then unlike herself—the face is the same but the thought is changed. She says: 'Have you any *awa*? Have you any food?' when such may be before her in the house. The friends will say 'Who are you?' The mother says, 'I am so-and-so'; then the people flock about her and ask the *aumakua* to help them."

The idea is a simple one. The presence of a spirit is indicated by a divine possession in which the person possessed speaks not as he is accustomed but in the character and with the words of the spirit whose medium he is. His utterances are not his own but are the means by which, together with dream and vision, the spirit of the *aumakua* counsels his protégé.¹ In order that the *aumakua* may be strong enough to act his part as helper, he must receive offerings of prayer, and of sacrifice in the shape of food and drink called "feeding the spirit." For example, a woman living near *Kealakekua* was seen each night to carry a pail from her house to the cliff and empty it over into the sea. It was found that the pail contained *awa* drink which was being fed to the household *aumakua*.

May any creature, plant, or object, then, become an *aumakua*? Logically, yes; but practically there are only certain ones which are regarded as possible god bodies. Mr. J. S. Emerson enumerates

¹ Miss Laura Green furnishes me with some notes as to this belief in spirit possession. When the *aumakua* comes into a home where illness or other trouble is present, it enters the body of some member of the family—by the head if a friendly, by the feet if an evil spirit. The person falls asleep, the *aumakua* taking the place of the spirit thus ejected. Such a medium is called a *haka*, and the seance a *noho* (sitting). If a friendly spirit, it offers advice as to how to escape the illness or other troubles—what prayers to offer, fish to catch, herbs to gather. To test the *aumakua*, a member of the family throws a wreath of some special plant (*lai* or *lauhala*) about the neck of the *haka*. If it is a friendly spirit, he will take it, if an evil spirit, he will spit, glare, tear his clothing, or even plunge naked into the bushes. Such insanity is relieved by a drink made from a coarse kind of grass. To keep out these evil spirits, house and yard are sprinkled with water to which salt and a bit of root similar to the ginger are added. This ceremony is also used in case of death.

these in his paper called "Lesser Hawaiian Gods" published among the papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society. The shark, cowry shell, limpet, squid, and eel are famous sea *aumakua*. The mud-hen, plover, chicken, wild-goose, frigate-bird, besides song birds, are important *aumakua*. The spider among insects (not mentioned by Emerson) and the lizard among reptiles are worshiped, and of quadrupeds the pig, dog, and rat.

Rocks, too, are often set up as *aumakua* and worshiped as transformed deities. Certain trees, sweet-scented flowers and phenomena of nature and the elements, the volcano, for example, are powerful *aumakua*.¹ In fact, the *aumakua* worship corresponds well with Polynesian utterances about the creation of the world in which earth, rocks, plants, and animals are imputed to sex birth and their race and lineage recorded. The singling out of special classes of objects perhaps signifies merely that to such names the *aumakua* of famous families of the past got attached and hence their descendants worship these inherited forms.

Are the *aumakua* friendly or evil spirits? Cases differ. Some, says Emerson, such as the shark and limpet, which calm the waves or provide food for their patron, are beneficent; some like the dreaded worm (*enuhe*) and the lizard (*moo*) are much to be feared. The dog is beneficent, but a great thief. The pig is a mischief-maker, symbol of lechery and filth. The rat is, like the owl, beneficent, from the classic tale of the rat-god who, when *Makali* (Little Eyes—the Pleiades) tied up all the food of mankind in a net and hung it in the heavens, gnawed the ropes and let it tumble back again to earth. Emerson and Fornander² both point out the difference between Hawaiian and Tahitian feeling in this respect, the Tahitian *oromatua* being regarded as malevolent beings carefully to be propitiated. In general, the *aumakua* protects its own family, however inimical it may be to strangers.

Are the *aumakua* class or individual gods? In some cases,

¹ Miss Green says, however, that *Pele*, like the gods and goddesses, is not thought of in the *aumakua* class. Even the pig-god is a superior kind of *aumakua* because of his high lineage.

² *Polynesian Race*, vol. 1, page 127.

individuals are worshiped, in others all the species of a class. Emerson says:¹

In the case of the *pueo* (owl) all birds of that species were equally considered as representative of the *aumakua*, known as "*Pueo nui o kona*" (the great owl of Kona district, looked upon by a great portion of Kona people as their family god). They were not worshiped as individual owls, and when one died, the life of the *aumakua* was not affected.²

On the other hand,

Each several locality along the coast of the islands had its special patron shark whose name, history, place of abode, and appearance were well known to all frequenters of that coast. Each of these sharks, too, had its *Kahu* (keeper), who was responsible for its care and worship. The office of *Kahu* was hereditary in a particular family and was handed down from parent to child for many generations, or until the family became extinct.

It is to these inherited shark *aumakua* that *Puhi*'s helper belongs. Mr. Emerson has listed a number of similar shark *aumakua* identified along the coasts of various islands, the manuscript notes of which he kindly allows me to print here. For the *Puna* group my informants corroborated, in cases where the name was familiar to them, the story set down some thirty years ago by Mr. Emerson. At the name of *Kupanihi*, for example, a wooden-legged man of the party, named *Moses Kuaana*, spoke up. "That is my shark," he said. "He puts a person under his arm; he is like a father to me." *Moses* told me that his shark was rainbow-colored, that it was man before and became shark, and that it acted as protector to his family. Another bystander recalled the story of the abortive child of *Aia* of *Palama* (Emerson's *Ahia*) which was thrown into the sea. Its spirit came to the grandmother and told her it was living and wanted *awa* to drink, warning her to attend to its message lest one of the family die. This proves that the data not only

¹ *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, no. 2, page 8.

² But one informant tells me that the owl is classed as a god, not as an *aumakua*. According to old Hawaiian ceremonial, the *opelu* and *aku* fish, excellent for eating, were held tabu each for six months at a time. On January 13 was performed a religious ceremony accompanied by human sacrifice, at which the *aku* season closed and the *opelu* began. This commemorated the voyage of the priest *Paao* from *Tahiti* with chief *Pili*, when schools of *aku* and *opelu* accompanied the canoe all the way to still the waves. See *Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities*, pages 25, 199.

preserve the tales of old and mythical shark gods, but represent a living faith to-day.

From Mr. Emerson's notes we learn something of the form in which the belief survives. Shark gods may be male or female. Those described are invariably red, shining, light or spotted to correspond with their sacred character, as allied to the gods. They are of human origin, the constant reference of shark or lizard gods to an abortive child being possibly suggested by the appearance of the partly formed foetus. Their worship is handed down from father to son, a special keeper (*Kahu*) being intrusted with their care. They are invoked with particular prayers and have temples erected for their worship. Their special function is to aid in the food supply of the household—generally by giving the fisherman good luck at sea—and to protect him from drowning. They are, in fact, regarded as spirits of half-human beings which, rendered strong by prayer and sacrifice, take up their abode in some shark body and act as supernatural counselors to their kin, who accordingly honor them as household divinities.

In most cases the *aumakua* has the power to take either human or animal shape. Most old Hawaiian hero tales are based upon the exploits of some supernatural being born as a rope, a chicken, or in some abortive form, cast out to die, but, being nurtured by a seer, survives to avenge family wrongs at the hands of well-nigh invincible foes, to furnish culture gifts, or undertake strange adventures. Hence follow a number of transformation stories, of which the tale of the pig-god, *Kamapua'a*, and of the shark *Kamoho-alii*, brother to *Pele* of the volcano, are the most popular survivals. Says Emerson of the latter:

His place of abode on Hawaii was *Ka-pali-kapu-o-kamohoalii* ("The sacred steep of Kamahoalii") on the northern edge of the crater of *Kilauea* on Hawaii. So awful and sacred was this spot that *Pele*, though his own sister, dared not allow the smoke from her fires to rest upon it.

His girdle too was of red, corresponding to the sacred color ascribed to supernatural sharks.

A popular form of the transformation story is that of the shark-man born with a shark's mouth on his back and the power to

become a shark the moment he leaps into the sea.¹ This tale, four variants of which Emerson has collected on Hawaii, resembles the stories of robbers or man-eaters that waylay unsuspecting travelers who pass by on the highway at some narrow passage. Two such spots I have seen, one an upland pass on Oahu between two gorges where *Aikanaka* lay in wait for his cannibal feasts,² the other in *Puna*, where a high cliff presses upon the shore road. Here the natives still point out the mass of stones hurled in the final struggle with the dreaded highwayman *Alohi*.

In Emerson's first version, the shark-man (unnamed)

lived in *Kawainuhu* at *Kaalualu*, *Kau* district. He had the form of a man with a mouth on his back. He was a great farmer and when people went to *Kawainuhu*, he resumed his shark form and devoured them. To destroy him the chief ordered all the men to assemble on a given day and cultivate the ground. A *makaule* (prophet) discovered this shark-man among them by his concealing his back with a *pau* (strip of bark cloth). By the prophet's orders, the monster was seized before he could reach the sea and resume his shark form. They killed him and burned him up.

Portions of this shark, says Emerson, were cooked in the ovens (now open) of *Kahuapuali*, *Papalaheiau*, *Palalanuhala*, *Mohoiki*, *Kahiu*. The oven *Puuolokuana*, however, remains unopened, for *Kane* and *Kanaloa* and the other gods were cooking the shark there when the day dawned, at which time gods cease their activities on earth.

The second version comes from *Waipio* valley.

Nenewe lived beside the large basin at the bottom of the water-fall on the west side of *Waipio* valley. As he cultivated his little sweet potato patch he was in the habit of watching the passers-by, and sometimes called out to them "Where are you going?" Perhaps the answer would come "We are going to bathe in the sea at *Muli-wai*" in which case he might answer, "Then look out that the shark there does not eat you." He would then rapidly get over the intervening space of about two miles, and, as a shark, await their coming at the seashore. In due time he would seize and devour one of their number. When this had happened several times, people began to suspect the fellow at the potato patch of being in some way connected with the shark of *Muli-wai*. They accordingly seized him one day at his home, and discovered the shark's mouth under the *kihei* (cape) which he always wore on land.

¹ See Thrum's *Hawaiian Folk Tales*, page 255.

² Compare *Ibid.*, page 139.

In a third version corresponding with the above in almost every particular, the shark is named *Niho-kahi* (single tooth) and lives at *Laie*, on the north coast of Oahu.¹

A fourth occurs under the name *Ka-ai-poo* (the head-eater). He lives at *Kapaahu*, *Puna*, and carries the mark of the shark's mouth on his back.

Hawaiians often think of their *aumakua* as going to war among themselves.² A second famous shark myth detailed by Emerson is that of the great shark war, in the course of which the man-eating sharks were driven from the group. To this event belong the most ancient and formidable gods described in the notes. Some details of the war point to a symbolic rendering of a real struggle between chiefs, but whether of a literal struggle to weed out cannibalism from the group is doubtful. There is no evidence that cannibalism was ever practised in Hawaii, nor, says Fornander, in the Society Islands. Among the Tongans the practice is said to be exceptional. But in the Fiji and the Marquesas, in New Zealand, to some extent in Samoa, the custom prevailed. The cannibal rite must therefore at various periods in the settling of the group have forced a decision. It is, however, more in accordance with Hawaiian symbolic analogy to employ the figure of the man-eater to represent a great war chief, who "eats" the land or his rivals in war, than in the more obvious analogy of the cannibal rite.³

The story itself includes so many inconsistencies that it is hardly worth while in this paper to enter into its detail. I will merely enumerate the sharks named by Emerson, and indicate their place in the legend.

Kaahupahau (w)⁴ and her brother (or son) *Kahi'uha*, live in the *Ewa* lagoon off Oahu. She is in one version the friendly deity of the *Ewa* natives, who her-

¹ Collected April 10, 1907, from J. A. Kahiona, a mormon of Laie.

² Compare the story of the great owl war, Thrum's *Hawaiian Folk Tales*, page 200.

³ At one place in the story the hero shark and his companions meet a man-eater. "They engaged him in conversation, when it appeared that he ate human flesh. They told him it was wrong, to which he replied that it was nice and that they must defeat him before he would stop doing so." In another passage "the spirit of the man-eater revived again, and as a tongue, now restored and alive, made its way to the coasts of Maui and Hawaii, pleading with the sharks of those regions for vengeance."

⁴ k stands for male (*kane*) w for female (*wahine*).

self instigates the war against the man-eaters,¹ in another,² one of the man-eaters and slain by the hero *Kealiikana*.

Kuheimoana (w) is the greatest of all sharks. She lives at *Kaula* and is thirty fathoms long. Subdued by the *Kau* shark-god, she joins his party, but being mistrusted, is led into shoal water where she is stranded, and decides to return home.

Kupiopia (k) is her son, seven fathoms long, who lives at *Keamoku*, *Haena*. He is slain by the *Kau* shark-god. According to Emerson's notes "He came from *Kaula* to live at *Hamakua*. On his way he fell in with *Makaluahau* (k) of *Kalihi*, Oahu, who became his *aikane*, and went with him to *Hamakua*. There their spirits rested and directed the people of *Paauhau* to plant *awa*, which their keeper brought to feed them."

Kealiikaua (k) is the hero of the great shark war. He is born at *Ninole*, *Kau*, on Hawaii. He acts as the friend of man, his great work being to travel about the islands and slay all those sharks who feed on human flesh. Four companions accompany him.

Kalani (k) is "born on the coast of *Waiohinu* (*Kau* district) from the eye of his mother. His blood has been seen on the forehead of some who worshiped him. He guarded all the people of *Kau* from the other sharks who might harm them. He went to the great shark war at *Ewa*, Oahu, with his kinsman and friend *Kaholeakane*. They were swallowed up by *Kuheimoana* in this war. The little *Kalani* went first into the mouth of the monster, followed by his larger friend, whose size forced the monster to disgorge him. As he came out, the nimble *Kalani* darted out too. Then they swam into shoal water and thus led *Kuheimoana* to her fate. She got stranded on a shoal and was kept from the battle. *Kalani* went too near the shore and had a portion of flesh cut from his back by the people of *Ewa*, who ate it." In another version, two pieces of his flesh form the spouting horn at *Kealahae*. The natives say "If a man in a canoe wears anything red, *Kalani* will pursue the canoe and upset it."

Kaholiakane (k) is companion to *Kalani* in the great shark war, *Kua* (k) a *Kau* shark who joins *Kalani* in the shark war, *Kane* (k) companion to *Kalani*.

Ke-alii-holo-i-ka-moana (the chief sailing over the ocean) (k) lives off *Kekaha*, *Puna*, from *Ka-lai-o-kawili* in *Apua* district to *Ka-lai-o-wili-ia* in *Panau-nui*. "He began life a human child living on land, was a *kaukau-alii* (low chief) under *Iwakakaoloo*, the blind chief of *Puna*. He was an expert fisherman, frequenting the sea in a canoe. At death, wrapped in *Kapa-ahu-na'ii*, he was cast into the sea at *Kealahomo* and became a shark-god of the class called *akua-noho* who were supposed to 'dwell with or be over men as guardians.' He showed his friendship to men by warning them of the approach of hostile sharks by exhibiting himself above the level of the sea. He went with the other sharks to the great shark war at Oahu."

¹ *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, no. 2, page 10.

² Collected March, 1888, from *Kuamuanu*, and dictated by Mr. Emerson to H. E. M. Alexander.

*Malu'o*¹ (k) lived with *Ke-alii-holo-moana* and went with him to the war.

*Ka-pani-la*² (the shutting out of the sun) (k) is so-named "because his enormous bulk would obscure the sun should he come to land. He is the largest of the sharks. His usual haunts extended from the point *Ka-lae-o-lamau* in *Kapoho*, *Puna*, to *Kumukahi* point in *Kapele*." He was friendly to the natives and "great things were expected of him when he led the Hawaiian sharks to war, but off Diamond Head he got stranded in shallow water and could proceed no further."

Besides these mythical and fabulous beings who are famous in the great shark war, Emerson lists a number of well-known shark-gods worshiped at various points about the group:

1. *Hika-welo-ula*³ (k) of *Puna*, Hawaii, son of the *Kau* shark, *Ke-alii-kaua* and of *Ahia*, a woman of *Kalopona*. At birth he was covered with red tapa, the kind called *pukohukohu*, and became a red shark. He had two forms, that of a shark at sea, that of a man on land.
2. *Kane-i-kaupaku*⁴ (k) of *Puna*, Hawaii.
3. *Kane-mahuna*⁴ (k) of *Puna*, Hawaii.
4. *Ke-au* (k) *Puhi's* shark off *Kumukahi*, Hawaii.
5. *Haloo*, a shark of *Mahana*, *Kau*, who comes in his spirit form and teaches his *kahu* the medicine to use to cure diseases.
6. *Humeke*, of *Kaalualu*, *Kau*.
7. *Mikololo*⁵, of *Pokini*, *Malilele* cliff, *Kau*.
8. *Pai*.
9. *Ukanipo* ("the *uu* that sounds at night"), two great sharks of *Kawaihae* in *Kohala*, twin brothers. They lived at *Kamani*, and were regularly fed with *awa*. When the king wished to see them the keeper hung two bowls of *awa* from a forked stick, and each shark drank from his own bowl and went away.
10. *Ohiki*⁶, a stone image of a shark at *Kapaakeo*, in *Puuepa*, *Kohala*, near the coast. It is about eight feet long and very heavy, and was the great god of *Kamehameha I*. It is situated a quarter of a mile south of the temple of *Mookini*.
11. *Hikeaweaweula*⁷, a shark who lives in a cave called *Ke-ana-o-hikeaweaweula* off *Kahulaana pali*, *Kohala*.

¹ Collected March, 1888.

² Collected December, 1892.

³ Collected April 2, 1886.

⁴ Collected March, 1888.

⁵ Collected March 16, 1907, from W. P. Kanealii.

⁶ Collected in 1888. Such images occur at many a good fishing ground along the coast, the shark being preëminently the fisherman's god. In a brackish pool on the coast below *Hilea*, Hawaii, I was shown such a rock. It lay on its side in water up to the waist, somewhat resembling a fish in shape, and was one of a pair once highly prized as gods who brought the fish; but a recent earthquake had destroyed the natural sluiceway up which the fish were wont to be driven, and the god's mate had since been sold for a couple of dollars to an enterprising collector.

⁷ Collected in 1885.

12. *Hiu*¹ (w) (tail of a fish), listed among both *Kohala* and *Maui* sharks.
13. *Ka-ahu-kolu*¹ (k) of *Kohala*.
14. *Luahine*¹ (w) (old woman) of *Kohala*.
15. *Malihine*¹ (w) (stranger) of *Kohala*.
16. *Moe-kikoo*¹ (w) of *Kohala*.
17. *Na-kiaha* (k) (the drinking cups) of *Kohala*.
18. *Kaahupahou* (k), a shark born of human parents and living along the coast of *Kohala*. Emerson has seen it, and talked with the son of its late keeper. He quotes the prayer addressed to it.
19. *Kaaipei* (k), living at *Kawaihae*, Hawaii. *Keiwi* told me his story as follows: A couple lived at *Puako*, in *Kawaihae*. People from *Maui* used to bring food to *Puako* because the taro plant did not grow there. The shark would go out, capsize the boat, swallow the food and make off to his cave, where he would deposit it. Then he would go in a dream to his protégés and tell them where to find it. Emerson quotes the prayer by which the couple invoked him to capsize the boats when they needed food.
20. *Maonalaau* (k) of *Kohala*, born of human parents, *Koahou* and *Kaiwi*, now dead. In time of famine he sends a great turtle to "the lands of *Niulii*, *Waiapuka*, and *Auau*." The invocation is as follows: "O *Maonalaau*, listen to *Nihoeleki*, *Nihoeleki* of *Kahiki*, the ancient one. Hear this cry. The children suffer with hunger. Behold the food; bring the turtle."
21. *Pehu*² (k) (swollen), listed for *Hamakua*, Hawaii, and said to have eaten some natives there, also listed second among the great sharks of *Maui*.
- 22-26. *Mohiki*³ (k), *Kawaiiki* (w), *Kaahu* (w), *Kai* (w), *Uhanui* (k), sharks of *Hamakua*, Hawaii.
27. *Ka-ili-pulepule*⁴ (the spotted skin) of *Kekaha*, Hawaii.
28. *Kawelo* (k) off *Kuaokaiula* Point, ten fathoms long, friendly to man, but avenges any ceremonial lapse with disease and trouble.
- 29-31. *Kane-hamama*⁵ (kane of the open mouth), *Kolo-pulepule* (spotted creeper), and *Liholiho* (very hot), all of North *Kona*, Hawaii.
32. *Likiliki-muumuu*⁶ (*Likiliki* the maimed), the shark-queen of *Kona*, who had lost one of her fins. She was very friendly to the natives and made circuit of *Kona* every year.
33. *Moanaliha*⁷, chief of all the sharks of *Maui*, also ascribed to North *Kona*, Hawaii.
34. *Kane-i-kohala* (k) of *Mahikinui*, *Maui*.

¹ Collected December, 1892, and March, 1907 from *Kaiooni*, church elder and expert fisherman at *Kahai*, *Kohala*.

² Collected April 10, 1907.

³ Collected December 19, 1892, from *Kaiooni*.

⁴ Collected in 1885.

⁵ Collected April 20, 1886.

⁶ Collected March 28, 1886.

⁷ Collected April 2, 1907.

35. *Kaala-miki-hau* (k) of *Maui*, whose invocation reads as follows:¹

Eia ka ai Here is food.

Eia ka ia Here is fish.

Eia ke kapa Here is cloth.

Nou e Kaala-miki-hau For you, O Kaala-miki-hau.

Nana ia'u kau pulapula Look upon me, your worshiper.

I mahiai Let me plant.

I lawaia Let me fish.

Kuku kapa Beat the tapa bark—

A e ola ia'u, Kanui Grant me life, Mighty one.

36. *Mano-hi'u-wiwi* (shark with a slender tail) of *Oahu*.

37. *Nui-kala*, formerly of *Loko Uko'a* in *Waialua*, *Oahu*.

38. *Puhi-ula*² (red eel), associated with *Lani-wahine* and living at *Loko Uko'a*.

39. *Lani-wahine* (her highness), said to have a temple for her worship in *Waialua*, *Oahu*.

40. *Kala-kiki*³ (k) of *Waialua*, who is worshiped in a *heiau* (temple) called *Ka-heiau-o-Kalakiki* just above *Kaupakuhele* on the west side of *Makaleha* valley.

41. *Na-naulu* (k), also of *Waialua* and worshiped in the temple called *Ka-heiau-o-kaunu* north of *Kala-kiki's* temple.

Such is the form which the shark worship takes in Hawaii. What is the exact nature of the *aumakua* belief? The ancient Hawaiians worshiped three classes of deities, *akua*, *aumakua*, and *unihipili*. *Akua* were thought of as spirits only, not born of humans. *Aumakua* were the offspring of god and human, or those human beings who were marked by an abnormal shape which might be assumed at will, such as that of some animal or object. *Unihipili* were the spirits of departed relatives. To prepare an *unihipili* the flesh was stripped from the body and the bones wrapped in tapa and mats, or sewed into a woven case which took the form of the body. Such a god, if properly worshiped, was bound to fulfill the requests of its devotee. Both *aumakua* and *unihipili* belong to the class of *akua noho* or "gods indwelling," that is, of those spirits who enter into and possess human beings, through whom their messages to their devotees are uttered.⁴

¹ Recited by *Mahelona* of *Puuhi*, *Maui*.

² Collected in 1888.

³ Collected March 16, 1907, of *Barenaba*.

⁴ For this classification I am indebted to Miss *Laura Green*, social worker among the Hawaiians of *Honolulu*, whose informant was an intelligent Hawaiian woman well versed in native custom. See also *Malo*, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, pages 142, 155-158, and *Emerson* in *Hawaiian Historical Papers*, no. 2.

The idea of the *aumakua* in the Hawaiian theogony seems to be that of enforced helpfulness within a kinship group as a means to insure superhuman coöperation in individual human affairs; individual, because the *akua* is a national god, to be invoked in time of war or national calamity. The *aumakua* interests himself in providing food for the particular family to whose protection he is devoted, in curing disease, or avenging an enemy. For all such personal services, says Miss *Green's* informant, the sufferer fears to invoke a national god, lest he be angry; he therefore calls upon his lesser gods. We find the *aumakua*, therefore, closely concerned with affairs of sorcery, and his keeper looked upon as a magician of malignant power. *Malo* scoffs at the claims of the *aumakua* keepers, whom he accuses of duping the people by pretending to speak as if inspired by the god.

Nor is the *aumakua*, like the *unihipili*, subject to a particular keeper only. *Emerson* makes the ancestral, family character of the *aumakua* his distinguishing feature from the *unihipili*. He serves the whole family, and when one keeper dies, another takes his place.

For although worshiped like a god, the *aumakua* is nevertheless ranked as *kauwa*, or of the servant class, because bound to obey those whom he serves. He may be compared with the Arabian genii whose supernatural assistance is forced through the possession of some special talisman. In the case of the Hawaiian *aumakua*, that talisman seems to be the social fact of kinship, the act of invocation perhaps serving as a charm to enforce service. This same enforced obedience characterizes the relation between the *unihipili* and his keeper. "The dead are honored by being laid away in caves," says Miss *Green's* informant. "By being placed above ground they are humbled in their own eyes, as well as in the eyes of those who see their *pu-o-lo* (package form). Hence their implicit obedience to the will of the priests. They are truly *kauwa*, of the lowest class."

Malo, in a curious chapter, which *Emerson* tells us has undergone mutilation, applies the strict laws of descent to the *kauwa* class. He says:

Those who were *kauwa* to their chiefs and kings in old times continued to be *kauwa*, and their descendants after them to the latest generation; also the descendants of the kings and chiefs, their masters, retained to the latest generation their position of masters. It was for this reason they were called *aumakua*, the meaning of which is ancient servant—*kauwa kahiki*. They were also called *akua*, i. e., superhuman or god-like, from some superstitious notion regarding their power.¹

Now according to Polynesian habits of analogy, we should look for the prototype of such a supernatural relationship as that involved between an *aumakua* and its keeper in the social organization itself. Malo himself, if we interpret his words correctly, asserts a close relation between the *kauwa* and the *aumakua*. It is possible to assume that Wakea's *kauwa* may have been an *aumakua*, and Papa's liaison was with that supernatural demi-god whose keeper and master Wakea was. Such relations with a *kauwa* were in Malo's day, as they still are, considered highly disgraceful and for this reason chiefs of pure blood were closely guarded to escape such a connection. According to Malo, members of the class bore distinct tatoo marks—a dot or V-shape over the eyes, or curved lines on either side of the temples—which recalls Mr. J. S. Emerson's note on the shark god *Kalani* "His blood has been seen on the forehead of some who worshiped him." These things point to a direct relation between *kauwa* and *aumakua*.

The whole matter, however, remains still obscure. Light may be thrown upon it by comparing the Hawaiian *kauwa* with the Fijian *tauvu* relation described by Mr. Basil Thomson in *The Fijians*. Thomson explains the meaning of the word as "sprung from the same root" or "of common origin." He finds the *tauvu* relation existing between tribes "who may live in different islands, speak different dialects and have, in short, nothing in common but their god." He says:

A tribe never forgets the tribe with which it is *tauvu*. Members of this tribe may run riot in its village, slaughter its animals and ravage its plantations, while

¹ The *kauwa* class Malo derives from the *kauwa* of Wakea (ancestor of the Hawaiian race) whom his wife Papa took for her husband after Wakea's death. This seems to have occurred elsewhere than in Hawaii, for not until the fifth generation from Papa and her *kauwa* husband does Malo trace the "actual and real *kauwa* of Hawaii." Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, pages 96-101.

it sits smiling by: for the spoilers are its brothers, worshipers of its common ancestors, and are entitled in the fullest sense to the freedom of the city.

On the other hand, in case of war, *tauvu* tribes aid the warring chief. Thomson explains the relation as due to intermarriage at a distance, but one is inclined to suspect the presence of the *aumakua* idea, that is, of a union between a human and a god, especially since one origin tale tells how the ancestress of a *tauvu* family in the village of *Nambundra*, while in bathing, was seized and brought thither by a monster shark, god of that place. The individual relation between keeper and *aumakua* may have here been generalized, and the master tribe be entitled to make free with the property of the *aumakua* or servant tribe, or summon its aid in war, as a result of kinship between them.

In short, given the abortive or premature foetus forms, which the primitive mind might most readily explain by supernatural beast unions, and under the stress of Polynesian preoccupation with ideas of kinship, rank, and inheritance, the concept might emerge of an *aumakua* or supernatural helper, part beast, part human, and bound to the service of the family as *kauwa* to his chief. Further investigation is, however, required to establish the historical relation between the *kauwa* and the *aumakua* ideas in Hawaii. We may be looking for a correspondence where the primitive mind sees only an analogy.

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